1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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(*kokda fala*); descendants of the other brothers are simply called middle ones.

Second, there are the Male Houses (*neng fala*). This is a literal translation of the native term. Each individual has six Male Houses, which will be designated in this volume as Male House I, Male House II, and so on. These relationships are reckoned as follows: *Male House I*, the ego's mother's brother and male offspring; *Male House II*, father's Male House I (i.e., father's mother's brother and male descendants); *Male House III*, mother's Male House I (i.e., mother's mother's brother and male descendants); *Male House IV*, father's Male House II (i.e., father's father's mother's brother and male descendants); *Male House V*, mother's Male House II (i.e., mother's father's mother's brother and male descendants); *Male House VI*, father's Male House III (i.e., father's mother's mother's brother and male descendants).

It becomes obvious at once that the mother's brother is the stressed relationship but that it is stressed bilaterally with a slight weighting on the paternal side. Another aspect of this kin group is that it includes all the bilaterally reckoned lineages other than ego's for three ascending generations on the father's side and two ascending generations on the mother's side. It is to be noted that every son has slightly different Male House affiliations from his father. The Male Houses function in exchange relationships especially in connection with death services. A full description of form and function must await subsequent publication.

Third, there is the Female House (*mayoa fala*). This is also a literal translation of the native term. This is a group in which are included all bilaterally reckoned kin who appear neither in the lineage nor in the Male House. It is not subdivided as is the Male House group nor is the concept so sharply defined. However, basically it hinges also on descendants of pairs of siblings, i.e., on the father's sister and the mother's sister. In it are also included descendants through females of Male House kin. The functions of this group are not sharply defined but it is composed in a general way of the people on whom one may call for supplementary assistance in ceremonial and financial exchanges.

There is no trace of brother and sister avoidance, nor are there formalized joking or respect relationships. This negative point may have importance for what follows, since one of the characteristic features of life in Atimelang, as I see it, is the absence of formal structure, especially in interpersonal relationships.

According to the house-to-house census, the number of occupants to a dwelling ranges from one to eight. In this, as in other phases of social organization, there is no rigidity. Theoretically, residence is pat-

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form of gift from a husband called "roastings" (*bieting*). He brings a small pig to his affinal kin's feast, slaughters and cooks it there, and disposes of its meat himself; he does not turn it over to his father-in-law for distribution. However, he is felt to be adding to the ostentation of the occasion by cooking at the site of the feast.

So far I have been describing affinal exchanges as though they occurred only between the husband and his wife's father or brother. Actually most financial exchanges between men are phrased as affinal ones. Thus a man may enter into financial transactions with the husbands of any female kin he calls *vi mayos*, i.e., female child. This includes all his nieces and cousins reckoned bilaterally. Such exchanges also are called dowries (*moling*) and bride-prices (*fila*) but they do not affect the original agreement between a man and his affinal kin. A sister's son also is called a *vi mayos*. In this case the term means a male child through a female kin. Such a vi mayos may ask his mother's brother for financial help (*moling*), on the supposition that the maternal uncle is paying dowry on his sister. There are, of course, still wider ramifications of these bride-price–dowry exchanges, but they need not be discussed in this connection.

Perhaps one of the best indexes of what marital finances may mean is revealed in cases of divorce. At such times tallies of sticks or pebbles are laid down in separate rows by each side to represent the kafuk and paheh versus the moling and fila payments. As a rule the punghe and siengma exchanges are not counted unless there is a good deal of ill feeling and consequently financial pressure is being brought to bear on one or the other principals. As each tally is named in connection with the occasion of payment, witnesses may be called upon to substantiate the correctness of the claim. These witnesses are usually people who have some financial interest in the settlement. However, since such financial exchanges are invariably public affairs and so much a matter of common knowledge, skill in divorce reckonings depends more on memory than on chicanery. The objective is to balance bride-price payments against dowry payments.

Since such reckonings are the favorite way for husbands, wives, and affinal kin to air their grievances, these encounters are frequent. I should hazard the guess that there averaged one a week in the Five Villages. Naturally not all led to divorce. Usually after bluffs had been called and grievances aired, the couple settled down again. Fantan's autobiography offers a nice example of such a situation.

People generally seemed to sense whether the divorce reckoning was in earnest or not, but whether or not it was serious never seemed to de-